



and
FALL

CHAPEL
COLLEGE

1960

Our cover is by John F. C. Burdis, Associate Professor,
School of Architecture, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.
Mr. Burdis holds degrees in architecture and city plan-
ning from King's College, Durham University.

CHAPEL AND COLLEGE

FALL, 1960



Published by the National Association of College and University
Chaplains and Directors of Religious Life.

Chapel and College

is published by the National Association of College and University Chaplains and Directors of Religious Life. Its goal is to minister, on behalf of the Association, to its members and to others similarly engaged in the academic community.

It is our editorial policy to explore the theology and to explicate a philosophy of various areas of our activity on the campus; to report on religious projects and programs which are being pursued experimentally in the university; and to record worthy examples of the expression of the religious spirit in the college chapel, church or campus religious group.

Publication of *Chapel and College* is made possible through a two-year grant from the Danforth Foundation, to whom the Association here expresses its gratitude.

•

Editor:

GEORGE P. MORGAN, Ph. D., Resident Chaplain
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

Editorial Board:

ERNEST GORDON, T. D., LL. D., Dean of Chapel
Princeton University

EDGAR R. SATHER, Chaplain
Skidmore College

RICHARD P. UNSWORTH, Chaplain
Smith College

Editorial Review Committee:

Samuel L. Gandy, Ph. D., Dean of Chapel
Dillard University

George Hedley, D. Th., D. D., Chaplain
Mills College

Joseph R. Sizoo, S. T. D., L. H. D., LL. D.,
Director of University Chapel
George Washington University

Chad Walsh, Ph D., Poet in Residence and
Professor of English
Beloit College

•

Extra copies of *Chapel and College* are available for the nominal charge of 35c each. Address requests to:

Office of the Resident Chaplain
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Troy, New York

Contents of This Issue

•

"Passive Insistence — Its Principles and Procedures, Its Promise and Its Peril"	
By Paul E. Bushnell	Page 4
"A Commentary on 'Passive Insistence' "	
By James H. Laue.....	Page 23
"A Northern Expression of Passive Insistence"	
By Edgar R. Sather	Page 29
"A Critical Estimate of 'Passive Insistence' "	
By Evans E. Crawford	Page 33
"A Prelude to Meditation on the Problem of Race"	
By Bruce Clements	Page 38
"Reflections on the Chaplaincy — a Document of Historic Value"	
By Sidney Lovett	Page 46

Passive Insistence --- Its Principles and
Procedures, Its Promise and Its Peril

•

By PAUL E. BUSHNELL

Earlier this year, a phenomenon called the "sit-in" caught the attention and imagination of students and of campus religious groups across the country. Because of its success as a tool of nonviolent action, the sit-in and its related techniques may be expected to be with us for some time to come.

What is its philosophy and its theological foundation? What are its limitations and its possibilities? What are its present characteristics and its potential distortions?

We asked Mr. Paul Bushnell to write the article we publish here, because of his experience as an observer and as a participant, ever since the beginning of this phenomenon.

Mr. Bushnell was a 1953 graduate of the College of Wooster, and received his M. A. degree in history from the University of Michigan in 1954. He was given the B. D. degree by Yale Divinity School in 1957, and since that time has been at Vanderbilt University as a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in religion and as a graduate assistant in church history. The paper which follows grows out of his experience "in the student sit-in movement in Nashville, in the upheaval in Vanderbilt University and in the Raleigh Conference."

References to the thought and writings of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., are by express permission from Dr. King.

•



ITTING on a lunch-counter stool and looking straight ahead you will see waitresses, bus boys and facilities for preparing food, and gaze into an array of mirrored surfaces that reflect the world beside and behind you with varying degrees of fidelity. During sit-in demonstrations

I have seen other students reflected, interested passers-by, police, swaggering duck-tailed teenagers like sharks on the prowl, reporters and cameramen, official observers — the hostile, the curious, the sympathetic. Each of these and many other impressions suggest aspects of the sit-ins that belong to any complete picture of the movement. However, my present aim is to engage the problem on a level somewhat more remote in order to construct a larger picture consisting of the procedures and institutions of the sit-in movement, some of its basic convictions, and the problems it raises.

Although this paper is not intended to be a personal document, I am too close to the events of the last seven months to exclude all intimate detail and I have to exercise my own judgment in selecting and criticizing aspects of the movement presented here. Sometimes what I shall present will not be fully typical of the movement because while it is extremely varied, my experience is limited to events

in Nashville, Tennessee, and attendance at the Raleigh Conference in April. Moreover, I cannot be certain that I shall faithfully portray the inner motivation of the movement since I am not a Negro. What I have to say on this subject depends upon what I have heard, sensed, and experienced myself during short periods of time when my association with colored students has exposed me to equal treatment. Finally, I should like to stress the fact that although I shall reproduce ideas and judgments originating within the movement, I am not an official spokesman for the sit-in movement.

Much of the meaning of the sit-in movement will have been lost if white Americans with fairly liberal or moderate views toward race relations think that the sit-ins are only protests against the discriminatory practices of racial extremists. The sit-ins are not simply protests, their ultimate aim is not just the seating of white and Negro next to each other at lunch-counters, they are not aimed solely at those who segregate or discriminate. To some extent we are all perhaps the victims of publicity. Our eyes were prepared to see only the re-enactment of past racial dramas and our news services were geared to reproduce only the stories of conflict, the reactions of defiant hoodlums and of white-collared bigots. Before the movement takes more diverse forms, as it seems likely to do in the future, we must try to explore more fully the meaning of those essentially simple acts of nonviolent resistance to habitual patterns of racially prejudiced thought and action that began spontaneously with polite requests for service at an F. W. Woolworth lunch-counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960.

It seems a little strange that the symbol of Greensboro has not revealed more about the nature of the sit-ins. Geographically we ought to note that most of the early sit-ins took place in areas where token integration was in force. Consequently, it ought to be clear that sit-ins are not aimed simply at segregation, but at cheating forms of integration by which Negroes are invited to use public services and educational facilities only in part. They are directed toward liberal and moderate whites who have prematurely accepted a time-table for social change without knowing what it is like to live between the times of the acceptance of the principle of equality and the realization of first-class citizenship. In this respect the sit-ins have created a crisis for the social philosophy of gradualism. There is a message too for violent racists. They should understand that as the nonviolent movement spreads, they are being deprived of their only weapon by a new capacity to absorb and triumph through suffering. In the same instance sit-ins were directed toward the adult Negro community as an indication that progress is too slow for the younger generation and that responsibility for the evil of segregation is shared by those who acquiesce in it.

And, what is perhaps most often overlooked, those who with quiet seriousness took swivel seats and waited for their object lesson

to sink in, affirmed at the least their confidence in nonviolence. So firmly did they believe in the justice of their cause and in the power of nonviolence that fear was conquered and physical acts of terror were absorbed. Among the students were convinced Christians, agnostics, and some estranged from faith; but most of them interpreted their actions as in some sense a part of a spiritual struggle. The most articulate powerfully witnessed to the power of the Christian gospel experienced in nonviolence. They have taken their stride toward freedom.

I

The actual conduct of a sit-in depends for its success upon the seriousness of purpose, the strength of dedication to nonviolence and the good judgment of those sitting in. In the early stages of the movement small groups sometimes responded to the news of sit-ins in other localities by hastily organizing sit-ins at local variety stores with perhaps only two ideas definitely in mind. First, the conviction that segregation, as a violation of human rights, can be overcome. And second, they possessed an idea that they ought not to strike back if attacked. Some explained that to return violence would defeat their attempt to overcome evil with good and to love their enemies. To my knowledge there has been no instance in which those who have intentionally engaged in a sit-in have resorted to violence. The lowest common denominator of the movement has been the intention of nonviolent insistence that segregation inflicts upon a group an intolerable wrong.

During the opening phase of the movement sit-ins were often used simply to test the policies of a store and in many communities they may still be used for this purpose. For those who suffer discrimination it is practice that is the proof of policy. Furthermore, the advantage of the sit-in is it confronts both managers and public not with a hypothetical situation or an abstract decision, but with an action-situation requiring a practical decision. When questions of employment or housing arise, those concerned are not likely to know the applicants, and in an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty they picture the least attractive members of the minority group asking to be served. The quiet, well-dressed students who have conducted sit-ins appear at the counters to face those who have the power of decisions and their silent appeal is to be judged not as a race but as persons.

However, it is part of the simplicity of intent and of the naivete of the movement that it has often failed to recognize or to appreciate the difference between a private and what we might call a corporate decision, or at least a managerial decision. Managers need to know not only that a decision is morally right, but that it is one on which a business can be operated. In the situation created by a sit-in, they are almost totally at sea. As they look about them for signs of what the public will bear, they often look in vain for indications

of support for a change in policy. Most obvious are the threats and vulgar language of racists. Aside from these there are traditional landmarks of habit and custom. None of these signs promises support for new departures in race relations and the vast middle grounds seem void of pronounced support.

There is a certain plaintive quality in the voice of the merchants as they complain that they are being forced to make moral decisions for the entire community, and so to lead in social change — and one could truly sympathize with this lament. But one must at the same time remain critical of the dollar morality they proclaim when they say, "So far as we are concerned the sit-ins have created an economic problem. Integration is a risk. The question is purely a matter of dollars and cents: will we incur greater losses through integration, or by segregation with the possible threats of protest and boycott?"

Normally negotiations follow as a second step, when policy has been tested in action. So far as I am able to judge from reports of negotiation, success in this venture will depend upon whether the parties to the negotiation are really representative of the interested groups involved, and upon the quality of community leadership supplied by members of the power structure. Those who have sought to negotiate have frequently discovered that no real negotiation was possible until those with power and responsibility in the community have decided that negotiation is desirable. Negotiations can be used simply to stall for time, to put off decisions and change, to consume the energies that have accumulated in protest.

Part of the reason for this is the existence of a myth. It was believed that the student protest movement was an outburst of rebelliousness in the younger generation, something that would be overcome with maturity when the young people would probably settle down and accept the ways of their parents. A second aspect of the myth was the belief that the attitude of the students was not representative of the attitude of the Negro community as a whole. There is a difference between the young and their elders, but the white community plainly miscalculated when it judged acquiescence to the system of segregation to mean satisfaction or approval. Even those who had no direct contact with the Negro community, who could not sense the bond in spirit between students and adults, or could not be told that it existed, soon discovered concrete proof that their cause was one. Store managers watching their economic indexes saw it first, as in Nashville, when Negro shoppers withdrew from the downtown shopping area in a withdrawal almost 100 per cent effective. Here was the tangible evidence that student demonstrations were not enacting a message essentially different from what their elders would have said if they had spoken candidly. Their absence from the streets and stores was eloquent support for the nonviolent movement.

The student nonviolent protest movement does not end with sit-ins nor are they its sole concern. Sit-ins are widely publicized, they strike the conscience of the community, but their immediate aim is to bring about honest negotiation for changed policy. After all the sit-in is rather unwieldy as an instrument for arranging the details of social change. It is not an ultimate weapon, but a means to an end. In a security-conscious America where law and order are highly valued, there are many who urge more negotiation and fewer sit-ins. There is a certain persuasiveness in this argument, but it fails to appreciate the fact that segregation is an organized system of suppression which retains privileges for a majority of the population on the basis of their racial identification alone. And the favored status of one whose privilege is determined by his race, like other inherited privileges in history, is not something that he is likely to relinquish voluntarily. On the contrary, the continued existence of the *status quo*, an atmosphere of utter calm, the widespread conviction that race relations are good and that Negroes are satisfied — these and many other similar factors conspire to prevent fruitful negotiation. What may be hailed as negotiation is frequently nothing more than a pre-arranged play, the purpose of which is not to hear or to bargain, but subtly to inform the minority of what the power structure has decided it will allow or forbid as alternative courses of action. Several times I have been reminded that it is not the custom to sit down face to face to negotiate with Negroes. Rather they are informed directly or indirectly of changes which affect them. Frequently when it proves necessary to include representatives of the Negro community on a negotiating committee, it happens that those chosen are not really representative, or, if leaders, that their professional responsibilities are such that they cannot be fully effective spokesmen.

Finally, it should be noted that within the last few months segregation at lunch-counters has been brought to an end by negotiation in some places without sit-ins. On August 25, Houston, Texas, quietly began integration of eating facilities in eight firms with the cooperation of press, merchants, and civic agencies. This does not mean, however, that the nonviolent sit-in movement has not been necessary. Progressive communities with intelligent leadership understand the meaning of the widespread sit-in movement and are beginning to consider change because sit-ins have occurred elsewhere and are compiling a record of success.

From the first, fearful persons have charged that the movement represented a vast conspiracy of some sort, inspired if not led by Communists. A minor employee of a newspaper once told me that he believed the sit-in movement was a piece of a grand international conspiracy disrupting many countries today. This kind of thinking appears to be the product of a combination of fear, ignorance, and an appallingly superficial view of world events. Time after time

colored students have pointed out that they have studied the meaning of freedom, equality, and democratic rights in the classroom, only to leave the classroom and come face to face with flat denials of these rights and values. It is perhaps inevitable that some will view this attempt to change American social patterns as an un-American activity, but so far as the student movement is concerned, I believe the faith of the students in democratic rights and procedures and their basic idealism will prove to be so self-evident, that the charge of Communist inspiration will gradually disappear from the speeches of all but the most incorrigible demagogues.

The fact that students sitting-in at lunch-counters have been disciplined has tempted some to surmise that the movement is highly organized, that it depends for funds and leadership upon persons or groups outside the communities involved. In reality what organization there is within the movement is more a result than a cause of it. Its common features arise from common feelings, convictions, and methods, and from cooperation through the sharing of information and experience, a process in which the media of mass communication play an important part. The exchange of information about local protest movements among student sit-in leaders at Raleigh, N. C., last April, led to a better understanding of the common problems of the movement. Some student leaders have told me that in their cities they could not effectively send a small group to sit-in at lunch-counters because such a group would be arrested before it had reached its objective, or because a small group of Negroes was more likely to be the victim of violence. In these cities, the leaders said, they could employ only demonstrations involving a thousand or more to march publicly, to hold a prayer vigil, or sing. The student movement has established a coordinating committee to facilitate exchange of information, but organization, plans, and actions depend upon local initiative. One young Southern lawyer suspected outside management because he did not believe the local Negro community had enough persons with leadership ability. He was simply wrong. Moreover, it is foolish to suggest that an outsider has anything important to gain from this movement in comparison with those within the local community. The profits accrue mostly at home. And finally one may observe that those who are willing to suffer for freedom are in no man's hire.

Nonviolence workshops have proven to be very effective training devices because the raw materials of feeling and conviction that make the movement a spontaneous success need to be refined and channeled by discipline, if direct action is to be fully responsible and effective. Workshops have sometimes been held before any direct action has been attempted. In other places spontaneous non-violent demonstrations by three or persons have raised questions that led to the formation of nonviolence workshops to explore more carefully the attitude and methods of nonviolence.

For those who lack local resources, there are books and pamphlets available and organizations with a long history of dedication to nonviolence, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and its offspring the Congress of Racial Equality, which have been glad to provide instruction where possible. CORE led sit-ins in 1942 in Chicago and the procedures for such action have been tested frequently since then. Thus it is no surprise that CORE has been active recently, training leaders in nonviolence and providing advice where sit-ins have begun spontaneously and have had to cope with potentially violent situations, like that which developed last February in Portsmouth, Virginia.

Nonviolence workshops conducted by an FOR representative, James M. Lawson, Jr. (who was also projects chairman of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council), may be given a major share of the credit for the fact that no student in that large movement, under attack or extreme provocation, ever responded with violence. Nonviolence workshops deal with both the philosophical and religious foundations of nonviolence and the problems encountered in many different action-situations. In communities like Nashville where whites and Negroes attend these workshops together, the sessions provide valuable interracial experience.

Employing the socio-drama, members of the workshop can experience a difficult situation, such as might arise in riding an integrated bus, sitting-in, or dealing with a clerk in a store, and discuss ways of reducing hospitality, of disarming prejudice and of opening communication with an individual on a personal basis. Dealing with such situations in advance not only reduces fear and helps to suggest creative ways of dealing with prejudice, but it makes one sensitive to his own feelings, his subtle prejudices, his thinking in stereotypes. One danger of the present situation is that nonviolence may be understood too narrowly as consisting merely of a technique of mass protest. In reality for those whose commitment to nonviolence is strong and durable, public demonstrations are not the beginning but the extension of an attitude and a way of life that is realized in common daily relationships and required by obedience to the Christian gospel. There are many, we should admit, whose trust in nonviolence does not run so deep.

Probably only a small percentage of those in any given community or movement will take time to attend workshops and to continue the study of nonviolence. And coordination of efforts within a community requires more than the spread of information by newspaper and telephone calls. The answer found in Montgomery and copied elsewhere is the weekly mass meeting. The Reverend Martin Luther King in his account of the Montgomery story gives a stirring picture of the mass meeting and shows, as have similar meetings in Nashville, that this sort of gathering is both a natural outgrowth of community interest and an effective

organ of information and social control. Such meetings have always taken place in churches and the agenda is a modified order of worship containing prayer, the reading of scripture, an offering for support of the movement, and a main address which may be a sermon and usually resembles one. Many critical questions could be raised at his point, but I wish only to point to the fact that this is the natural result of moral conviction, ministerial leadership, and religious views held by the majority which deeply permeate culture. The adult Negro generation has understood the message of the young, that they have been too patient under the scourge of segregation. But it is largely from their parents that students today have heard that though they face many closed doors and are judged inferior, there is a Judge who overrules all human judgments and counts them as equally his sons. It should be no surprise that the mass meeting has a strongly religious character and that nonviolence is preached and understood there primarily in Christian terms.

The conduct of sit-ins requires a center, usually a church, where participants can gather for instruction and assignments and later reconvene to evaluate their activity. Students proceed to the lunch counters singly or in small groups trying not to attract attention, but to arrive at the stores simultaneously. Sometimes they make small purchases at other counters before going to the lunch-counter. The number of seats to be occupied has been decided in advance, usually less than half of those available. Demonstrators sit down facing the counter, courteously request service and otherwise maintain a somewhat meditative attitude, not returning the gaze of curious bystanders. Only the spokesman for the group talks with the manager or others in authority. Frequently, the moment a Negro takes a seat, counter help begin cleaning up, refuse to listen to requests for service, and dim the lights. Signs are posted reading, "Counters closed in the interest of public safety."

Sit-ins are most effective when the participants' inner attitudes are right. Meditation upon the reasons for nonviolence and the purpose in sitting-in produce seriousness and quiet composure. The attitudes of observers, and even to some extent of the police who clear the aisles, seem to reflect the disposition of those seated on the stools. The moral issue was clearest, I believe, when counters did not close, but continued to serve some while denying service to others. Resentment showed on the faces of some, but always others emerged from the crowd to sit down because sit-ins were in progress. Once the manager of a small jewelry store sat down next to a colored student at a drug store counter and ordered a coke. Before he had finished he said, "Don't get me wrong. I haven't got anything to give to you or anybody else. But when somebody who's clean and decent — I don't care who he is — sits here, then they ought to serve him." When he left, he leaned over and said simply, "Stick to it, you're going to win." People within the movement

and close observers who have studied the results of desegregation, have become increasingly convinced that both store managers and politicians have consistently underestimated the number of moderate whites who feel this way.

Probably the most difficult decision those who sit-in have to make is that of when to leave. This decision should be anticipated. Refusal to leave when asked by a manager has usually been interpreted as a trespass and hence cause for arrest. It is a matter for each participant to consider conscientiously beforehand. The fact that some have refused and submitted to arrest has stimulated a good deal of discussion about civil disobedience. Submission to arrest and a jail sentence for real or imagined civil disobedience are accepted by the nonviolent movement as a possible consequence of obedience to a higher moral imperative that may have creative results.

Without thorough discussion of the issues involved, however, two observations are in order. First, the reactions of many Americans suggest that response to a higher imperative than those of social custom, civil law, or patriotism is not very well understood today. Second, too many equate nonviolent civil disobedience with the violation of law by violent racists, who have laid bombs and swung chains and bats. Maintaining the democratic tradition and their principles, the students have violated law, if at all, only in public, without injury or threat and without seeking to avoid detection or punishment. In short, they have not shown disregard for law nor have they violated order. They have consistently contended that although the owner of a private business serving the public may have a right to refuse service to undesirable persons, it is wrong for him to judge desirability on the basis of race and wrong to call upon the police arm of the state to help him enforce this decision. Protest seeking to illuminate a moral issue need not always go to the length of civil disobedience, but it may occasionally do so to point the way toward the keeping of a higher law.

II

The term "nonviolence" is a curiously inappropriate word to use in describing the present sit-in movement, because of its largely negative connotations. It has the advantage, however, of describing the manner of the action involved. Moreover, it furnishes a clue as to where the movement has come from. Historically considered, one of the most noteworthy facts about the sit-in movement is that it marks a new initiative within the Negro community. But this initiative which has developed with such speed into a mass movement during 1960, was not born this year. Its most important antecedent was the nonviolent campaign for bus desegregation in Montgomery, Alabama, which began late in 1955. There a major part of the Negro community submitted to the discipline of nonviolence and it

opened up the possibility that nonviolence would decide the course of action in many Negro communities if they were to take up its challenge. In 1958 the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., published his **Stride Toward Freedom**, which not only traced the history of the protest in Montgomery but outlined the principles of nonviolence and told how they applied in action. The publication of this book enabled many who had not come into intimate contact with the movement in Montgomery to study its lessons. Now they are being applied in practice.

Confusion arises from the fact that most nonviolent techniques, sit-ins in particular, have independent histories. Newspaper reporters could not suppress laughs when we used the terms "economic withdrawal" and "poster walk." They promptly pointed out that we were simply referring to boycotts and picketing, quite familiar tactics of labor unions. There was a perfectly good reason for avoiding these terms, but not one that all reporters could appreciate. Leaders of the movement were anxious to avoid loaded terms and these terms had too often symbolized violence and hatred. The sit-ins then mark one phase of a larger nonviolent movement, a phase in which the student generation has taken the initiative.

Another source of confusion is the fact that there is so much variety within the sit-in movement itself. Sit-ins were employed in struggles against racial discrimination before this nonviolent movement was formed. Furthermore, sit-ins have occurred spontaneously and with every kind of leadership, ranging from seasoned campaigners to untried teenagers. Nonviolence has been accepted by some only to the extent that it is an effective tool in carving out new areas of freedom. For others it is a way of life. Some colored students are estranged from the traditional churches of the Negro community; they feel Christianity does not meet their emotional or intellectual requirements, but nonviolence as a standard for social morality challenges them.

With all of these varying degrees of acceptance of nonviolence, it is extremely difficult to formulate a positive statement supplying content to the term. The movement itself seems to meet this difficulty by defining nonviolence in a multiplicity of ways, sometimes in positively Christian terms but frequently as a philosophical or moral idea.

In the description of the meaning of nonviolence for the sit-in movement which follows, I shall not try to represent all shades of belief, but only the Christian understanding of nonviolence as it has developed within the sit-in movement. I shall attempt this brief description because I believe it offers the most persuasive argument for nonviolence that the American churches have faced for a long time, and because my own experience in the movement has been in a

locality in which a large measure of thought has been devoted specifically to the Christian understanding of nonviolence. The leader who had probably pursued the implications of Christian nonviolence for the sit-in movement the farthest is the Reverend James M. Lawson, Jr., who served locally in Nashville as a kind of chaplain to the movement, and at the Raleigh Conference helped to point the entire movement in the direction of Christian nonviolence. In Nashville, as is now usual elsewhere in the South, however, the foundation for the Christian nonviolent movement is the local chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The term "nonviolence" remains a satisfactory descriptive term, I suspect, primarily because it connotes within the movement not simply resistance, but resistance in love. As Martin Luther King, Jr., has pointed out, in Montgomery the philosophy of nonviolent resistance was something which developed after the beginning of the protest and under the influence of Gandhi's teachings. Before that the primary concern was for Christian love. The Christian always seems to find it difficult to conceive of love in active terms apart from individual acts of charity. This is probably true whether one is the recipient or the giver of charity. With the growth of the nonviolent movement's efforts to overcome segregation, there has been an attempt to build and to resist, to criticize and to rebuild in such a way that means will correspond with the end. In the process new possibilities for active love (which were always there) have opened up.

As in many similar cases these possibilities were perhaps suggested partly through criticism of past efforts. Many programs for improved race relations have been paternalistic. The Negro is made to realize that improved status for him depends upon rights "given" him by the white community. So long as privileges are passed out by some for others to enjoy, there is for the recipient the taint of inferior status. The refusal of some white leaders to negotiate with Negroes grows out of this paternalistic attitude. But the new initiative characterizing the sit-in movement is an indication of the end of the era of paternalism. Significant progress will now be made only where whites realize that the possibility of doing something for the Negro is dead and that possibilities of doing something with Negroes have scarcely been explored.

The nonviolent sit-in movement has also indicated that there is a limit to the concept of securing equality through efforts to insure justice. This is not to deny that Christian love ought to continue to manifest itself through efforts to secure justice for all minority groups. The nonviolent movement continues to support the NAACP and other organizations seeking to open up pathways of freedom through law. But the enactment of law and the appeal of cases through the courts does not in itself create respect for law or for

those protected by law. In Tennessee, for example, segregation is a matter of custom, not of law, for there is no statute on the law books of the state requiring segregation. Moreover, experience shows that legal victories are frequently all but nullified by evasive tactics, even the enactment of new legislation, which must then be challenged all over again. One or two colored students in a previously white school may satisfy the requirements of a legal statute, but they do not necessarily realize the freedom and dignity that the statute was intended to secure. The program to secure legal justice has another limitation in the fact that so few people are involved in the struggle apart from the legal profession and the parties to the dispute. Sit-ins have an advantage at this point in that they engage the entire community.

In some areas there are repressive laws that need to be struck out and there are new laws that need to be written; but social custom, out of which law comes, and the attitudes which create custom are more basic objects of concern. There is nothing very creative or permanent about requiring grudging respect for a person's rights, and there is something precarious about law itself when the attitudes of a community will not support it. Therefore, the nonviolent movement seeks to reach people at the level of their attitudes and conscience by raising questions about rotten custom, habits of thought and action, often inherited from the past, which are immoral because they deprive some fellow citizens of full citizenship and full humanity for the sake of racial pride. But Christian nonviolence requires that every attempt to deal with unjust and unchristian attitudes, if it is to lead to ultimate reconciliation, must be undertaken in Christian love.

Recognizing the meager success of previous efforts to obtain racial justice, the present nonviolent movement seems to have begun with the conviction that the answer to the suffering of the Negro lay in obedience to the gospel of Christ. The starting-point, therefore, for a social program became reliance upon the divinely-appointed way for dealing with evil. This meant that men would have to reflect the same love and concern toward their fellows and the same readiness to forgive that they found in the Christ. It meant also that they would have to be prepared to endure suffering and seeming defeat, for both love and suffering are included in the way of the Cross. The ultimate answer then is to be not just a social program but discipleship in the way of the Cross. But just as the defeat of the Cross was followed by a sign of promise, there is hope that today obedient self-giving love may serve a redemptive purpose. The practical problem for Christian love in social action, however, is how to resist sin without resisting the sinner.

The importance of Gandhian nonviolence for the movement appears to me to derive from the fact that it cast new light upon the possibilities for Christian love in social action and thus led to the

discovery of fresh meaning in the gospel itself. For example, it was discovered that within the system of segregation the gradual disappearance of physical brutality has served to conceal from many the violent abuse of the inner man, the lynching of the soul. Where some easily recognized a real and corrosive evil, others before the sit-ins saw only a problem of where to eat. Moreover, nonviolence interpreted as the way of the Cross evoked a warning against the temptation to meet evil on its own terms, to employ force against those whose racial pride leads them into prejudice and discrimination. To be sure the sit-ins constitute active insistence. Students exert the force of their physical presence, and their action implies a judgment upon the social order. And if their claim to be recognized and treated as persons is not accepted, or even rejected with physical abuse, they will suffer and not retaliate. This is the sacrifice Christian love requires if it is true to the way of the Cross.

Gandhian nonviolence also serves to warn the Christian that unless he is fully conquered by love of Christ, he may give in to violence of the spirit, to bitterness and hate. Therefore, faith in Christian nonviolence requires that direct social action must never be undertaken in order to defeat or humiliate another person. Practically, this means that the aim of the sit-ins must be to expose a moral evil while seeking through Christian love and forgiveness to be reconciled with store managers, their customers and all others in positions of social and economic control. Honest negotiations must be patiently pursued, those in control must be given time to respond to your action and room in which to maneuver. Within the context of Christian nonviolence, therefore, even integration itself becomes only a proximate goal. Nonviolence is simply a concrete expression of faith, for the Christian capacity to love and forgive continually depends upon the trust that God will vindicate obedience.

Finally, it must be noted that through nonviolence the Negro has had restored to him the measure of freedom that spiritual oppression had taken away. The freedom he now realizes is the freedom of faith, the freedom of grace by which his suffering and humiliation have meaning. A new initiative emerged within the Negro community, I believe, not just because they were the victims of oppression, but because they have suffered too long a great tension in believing in their equal dignity before God, their right to freedom, and being at the same time expected to cooperate in their own suppression. This is no longer necessary. Practice of the way of the Cross, imitation of the suffering of Christ, holds out fresh hope that those whose racial pride has led them to subject their fellow men to humiliation may humble themselves before God and both be reconciled through divine grace.

III

The sit-in movement has existed long enough now to suggest that there are certain dangers to be guarded against from within as well as a number of previously unforeseen problems to cope with on the outside. There is also a challenge to direct nonviolent social action implicit in the whole movement, but we shall return to that in closing. In relation to the first problem it should be indicated that the members of the nonviolent movement have shown unusual maturity and stability. When describing the dangers within the movement, therefore, I do not mean to imply that all are likely to overturn it or divert it from its course in the near future. I only mean to indicate that all of these dangers have manifested themselves and should be guarded against.

The most serious threat to the cause of Christian nonviolence is the danger of self-righteous insistence. A campaign designed to illuminate the moral evil in segregation may fall prey to the hatred of the oppressor that segregation itself produces, and may by subtle processes transform it to more acceptable self-righteous indignation. Whether or not this is the precise mechanism, there is a constant tendency even for a nation with a moral insight (like smaller groups of people) to draw a line around itself in order to locate a primary source of threat without, and eventually to translate a moral cause into a crusade. This is the danger of fanaticism. Spiritually it presents the constant temptation to abandon humiliation and the appearance of defeat for the sake of grasping your own victory and transferring humiliation forcibly to the evil-doer.

Fortunately, however, there are some safeguards against action that does not remain obedient to nonviolent Christian love and forgiveness. The student advisory council which guided the Nashville movement does not use strict parliamentary procedure, but seeks a common spirit of agreement. When this was found to be lacking the answer was always understood to be the fact that the strength of our faith in nonviolent Christian love or our understanding of it was failing. Even this, of course, offers no guarantee of fidelity to Christian love. All groups using nonviolent direct action against segregation need to be warned that the clarity of their understanding of the moral evil involved may cause them to forget that no matter how acute their perception or even their pain, they also stand under judgment. If this inner erosion of the spirit does take place in the movement, it will betray itself in a tendency to use physical or even spiritual violence, the attempt to deprive a man of freedom of conscience before God.

A second danger to the movement is that it will interpret non-violence too narrowly, as "not hitting back," for example. The seeming simplicity and effectiveness of the social technique will

possibly lead many to overconfidence and insensitivity to the issues of love and forgiveness. Nonviolence firmly believed in but lacking religious insight could come perilously close to sheer obstinacy. The danger of this is that nonviolence of this sort can conceivably produce violence. The nonviolent movement has to be sensitive to its side-effects in the community and to bear some responsibility if it proceeds, knowing that undisciplined gangs are apt to resort to terror.

Another danger that suggests itself at this point is that the non-violent movement may by a measure of success tempt other social groups or movements to use it for their ends. The result might be a loss of leadership, of integrity and of spontaneity within.

It is not inconceivable that a successful movement might also expose itself to the danger that if it forges too far ahead of what the public can sustain, it may eventually lose ground. This may serve as a warning that it ought not to neglect its educational functions. Actually there is potential for progress in areas related to the lunch-counter sit-ins. Christian nonviolence may equip the Negro for riding desegregated buses in a really integrated style and for mustering courage to apply to schools where integration is only a token of the reality.

There is an additional danger for the movement in the fact that it has exposed a whole range of problems within American society, some of which might thwart the movement in some places or consume its energies and confuse its focus. However, the problems raised by the movement in this respect deserve the attention of Christians in every part of our society and I believe they must become the special concern of students. The sit-in movement has educated its own participants and there is no need for the lessons to be lost outside the movement. Most of these problems should not have caused great surprise among us, but the present student generation badly needs to get a firm grasp of the realities of the social order. For example, we discovered that newspaper reporting is often incomplete, that local news is frequently suppressed to avoid national coverage, and that some papers can use their power as irresponsibly by failing to take a sound editorial stand as can others by spreading false impressions and slanderous charges against persons or by exciting hatred and fear.

Next it became obvious that the national picture of our economy of abundance tends to disguise from view serious social and economic dislocations. The young men predisposed toward violence, who put cigarettes out on the backs of students at the counters, who spit on them or beat them, are not just problems for the nonviolent movement. In reality these outcasts are frequently successful in their violence because the power structure of the community is being permissive. Thus these poor and defiant gangs, white and Negro, are sometimes unconsciously acting only as tools.

Sit-ins throughout the South have brought students to an understanding of the political use of police power, a quite serious defect in democracy. Until they act, it is frequently not quite clear whether the show of police power at the scene of sit-ins is for the purpose of intimidating the movement or enforcing the laws. Some students have had advanced lessons in the possibilities of police intimidation when they have been jailed in filthy cells, treated roughly, and crowded in cells so small that some had to stand while others stretched out. In Orangeburg, the use of tear gas against a non-violent march burned some of the students while the force of water from fire hoses knocked many down and even tore their clothes. Police in Nashville seemed to make a point of arresting James Lawson in a church. Inside they defiantly wore their hats, chewed cigars, and created the impression of a gestapo. Students sitting in court rooms have witnessed the failure of the democratic process within the courts, where they have seen summary justice meted out to demonstrators and realized that for the Negro, justice is often a luxury dependent upon expensive appeal.

Students on predominately white college campuses can perhaps learn important facts about society from study of the movement with particular disciplines. Political scientists will be watching the effects of the sit-ins upon the platforms of political parties and the results of increased Negro voter registration, partly inspired by the movement. Sociologists will study the new diversified leadership rising in the Negro communities, the new roles of ministers, students, and the enlarged middle class. Economists will watch increased Negro purchasing power and its effect upon national businesses. Lawyers will argue the newly emerging definitions of public responsibility for private businesses and the role of the courts. It is hoped that students of religion will study the meaning of Christian non-violent love, and also the new role made possible in social change for individuals and small groups, particularly for students. Educators, I hope, will ponder the relation of trustees (who are members of the power structure) to the universities, and the role of teachers of religion and schools of religion within the university.

There is a lesson for Christian faith in participation in this movement or in a similar one. No one studying the sit-in movement so far has guessed the influence of the experience of nonviolent action upon faith. From experience I know that it is great and that it has produced profound changes in many students' lives. My own experience suggests that neither the evils of segregation nor the possibilities of faithful discipleship show up clearly unless one has engaged the problem directly. The lesson of engagement is that faith cannot observe or plan successfully before-hand what it will do. Faith seems to learn the possibilities of being faithful **just through obedience**. One has to risk being wrong in order to discover the way of truth.

In conclusion it should be noticed that the peculiar power of this nonviolent movement is that it disarms those traditional critics of pacifism who have felt or reasoned that nonviolence undermines patriotism, detracts from the capacity of the nation to defend itself, and is therefore un-American. Now the tables are turned. As the inside of America is exposed to the world, non-white critics seek to measure the capacity of American democracy to fulfill its essential function — protection of the rights of minorities. During the last several months nonviolent action has placed the problem of segregation before the conscience of Americans and stimulated political action. Something significant has been done to advance both the American democratic system and the cause of social justice. But the groups responsible have not usually enjoyed the franchise, nor have they constituted as a group any body or regular agency of the Christian church. In both respects they are new. In this case a nonviolent movement based upon Christian love with a redemptive purpose has proved itself so relevant as to be at the cutting edge of a major social conflict in our time, and so powerful that it has played a major role in changing social customs of seemingly great rigidity.

A COMMENTARY on "Passive Insistence"

•

These pages, in response to Paul Bushnell's analysis of the sit-in movement, were written by James H. Laue, tutor in sociology and candidate for the Ph. D. degree at Harvard University. His thesis topic centers around nonviolent history and philosophy, and his first-hand experience of the movement includes participation in sit-ins and kneel-ins, once leading to his arrest (along with seventeen others) in a Florida city.

•



don't think Christ would have wanted His church separated like this," I said to the usher in Atlanta.

I got no answer. A startled look, a few seconds' silence, then the usher — who had been leading the conversation up to this point — turned and walked away.

This personal experience is my way of laying the groundwork for a brief comment on Paul Bushnell's excellent interpretation of a movement which has addressed the collegiate conscience as nothing has been able to do since the '30's. For this incident to me exemplifies the overriding guilt on the American social soul — a guilt that is the key to the success of this nationwide peaceful protest so aptly described by Mr. Bushnell. With this in mind, let us examine four areas in which I might hope to expand the analysis:

- I. Successes (and lack of the same) of the movement to date.
- II. Motivation and preparation of sit-in leaders, their understanding of, and commitment to, nonviolence.
- III. Long-range significance of the movement.
- IV. Practicality of the nonviolent technique and other possible applications.

I. In early October the number of Southern cities where counters have been integrated in the last eight months was passing 90. As the number of success cities near the century mark, the five Deep South states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana were the only holdouts. It seems likely that barriers will fall in at least one of these states before the first anniversary of the movement. The sit-ins' effect has been much greater than any

would have dreamed was possible. We have seen their impact on the party platforms; even more significant was the action of the United States Attorney General, who called together national store managers in June to urge the rapid amelioration of this smudge on the national image.

On the drearier side, over 1600 sit-inners have been arrested on charges ranging from "criminal mischief" to "undesirable guest". Some have refused bail despite the protestations of their parents, the NAACP and the white power structure. Several cases taken up by the NAACP and ACLU lawyers are now on their way to higher courts for tests of constitutionality. Almost 100 students have been expelled at state-financed Negro schools which have been put under pressure by state administrations. Faculty members have been fired in Kentucky, Florida and Alabama as a result of their action in the movement.

As Mr. Bushnell suggests, the movement now has a semi-official spokesman, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. At publication time, SNCC representatives from all over the country were gathering in Atlanta to share experiences in a "second Raleigh Conference" and examine nonviolent philosophy in depth under the leadership of men like the Reverends King and Lawson.

II. I could add little to Mr. Bushnell's description of the training sessions which precede demonstrations for many sit-inners. It is important, though, to stress the *ad hoc* nature of the preparation in many areas, and virtual lack of it in some. Most student leaders I talked with this summer had not yet settled into a deep commitment to nonviolent philosophy; for some of them it was even an unnecessary appendage to the really useful *technique* of nonviolent direct action. I found that the most serious and dedicated of the sit-in leaders — and here I refer chiefly to members of the SNCC steering committee — bore much internal conflict about their lack of depth in the philosophy, and also about their ability to remain consistently nonviolent in the face of physical provocation and attack. In action, they have maintained the nonviolent stance; they are more worried about the ability to maintain psychological non-violence.

As a white, I am certainly poorly qualified to judge the frustration tolerance limits of Negroes as individuals or in groups. I simply do not have the memories of accumulated indignities which are so readily called up in a tense situation. But I am nevertheless deeply concerned about the retaliatory attitude exhibited by both white and Negro members of action projects in which I participated and observed. Following our arrest and subsequent bail, for instance, several students seemed to discard the nonviolent tenets of patience, negotiation and understanding, and focus only on "getting" the store manager by picketing and leafleteering. The

manager was seen in the same non-empathetic, stereotypical terms we were fighting. If passive resistance precepts are forgotten this readily, I think we can rightly fear the "self-righteous insistence" of which Mr. Bushnell talks.

I am not as ready as Mr. Bushnell to impute religious motivation to sit-inners and the movement in general. Nonviolent direct action is certainly in line with Christian teachings, but it seems that we should cast it in broader terms than simply "the way of the Cross." To the sociologist, at least, this phrasing of the problem erects an analytical barrier between the numerous secular influences in the movement and our understanding of them. Using the theistic frame of reference, we could justifiably see the whole of Negro history in the United States as the way of the Cross, for it is replete with the suffering and non-retaliation which characterized Jesus. I am in no way hinting, however, that the theologian must assume the sociological restriction I have suggested.

III. That true lines of communication are now up is perhaps the most significant long-range result of the sit-ins. For the first time in many Southern areas, whites are realizing that the old vertical communication patterns of master to servant are no longer relevant. Southern whites like the man in Knoxville who didn't even know there was a Negro college in town (I later discovered that he lived three blocks from it!) are now finding it necessary to break the old barriers and talk with Negroes on a one-to-one basis. The day is fast passing when the only Negroes one knows are in lower-status service positions.

The contradictory image of the violent but happy Negro has been too effectively shattered by the happenings of the past few months to need elaboration here. We might comment, however, on the way the movement has expressed the constant good humor which Negroes exhibit in psychologically "beating" the schizophrenic segregated system. This adjustment-producing humor has been expressed in songs and poems about the sit-ins, as well as a repertoire of humorous instances (probably partially mythological) growing from the movement. The prime example: the waitress who stammered to several sit-inners, "I'm sorry, but we don't serve Negroes here." "Oh we don't eat them either," came back the reply. "We just want a cup of coffee!"

IV. The success of the movement so far has shown how effective a technique is nonviolence in the realm of lunch-counters. Even in cities where it has not been used, the knowledge that Negroes possess this effective tool for equality is causing whites to be more willing to negotiate than ever before. The big question before us, then, is "Just how far can we carry this technique?" As one committed to the ideal of nonviolence as a total philosophy, I am an incurable optimist concerning the latitude of possible applications of

Satyagraha ("Soul Force"), as Gandhi called it. I have experienced its power on a picket line in Boston, where hecklers soon dispersed when ignored. Mr. Bushnell saw even more salient examples in Nashville when the white rabble got no response from cigarette-on-the-back tactics. A sit-in at a real estate office in Boston caused the owners to flee, and led to cracking the color line in formerly lily-white suburbs. The supportive demonstrations and money-raising drives on northern campuses exemplify the tremendous nation-wide motivation to action in civil rights derived from the movement. Students mobilized for sit-in support in Minneapolis, New York, Boston and other Northern cities are now turning their energies to more important local problems of housing and employment.

Other examples of the power of nonviolence? How about the Mayor in Florida, who after our arrest, asked if there weren't some way he could make everyone come to jail. The city was being "embarrassed", he said. Perhaps his sense of justice was also being tickled. That "spark of good" which Gandhi believed is present in every man is the object of the loving energy of Soul Force. Its presence produces the guilt when immorality abounds as it does in the segregated system.

Nonviolence has already won great victories on buses, at theatres, amusement parks, swimming pools, golf courses and registration lines on a smaller scale. The flourishing of the sit-ins concentrated at lunch-counters heralds, I believe, the application of the technique on a much wider basis. Sit-ins at segregated schools and wade-ins will be two areas of concern.

But nonviolence as a true Soul Force in America will not reach fruition until, as the **Christian Century** of August 24 said editorially, Negro and white Christians break bread together on their knees. The lunch-counter movement has addressed itself with varying degrees of effectiveness to the individual conscience. It is "time"—both sociologically and morally—to bring the issue to the guardian institution of society's morals. "Kneel-ins" must be motivated by an outpouring of the empathetic love which is the basis of nonviolence. This was the motivation in Atlanta on August 7 when we attempted to worship in integrated congregations in six churches. For the most part, Negro worshippers were received in the same spirit of love in which they went. But it seemed pathetically paradoxical that a Negro observer was served a cup of coffee in an adjacent drug store while his friends were being refused admission to the House of the Lord across the street. In another church, however, the hostile usher I talked of in the opening paragraphs was countered by a number of white church members who smiled and offered words of welcome to Negroes.

This, then, is the crucial point: many, many white Southerners are anxious to help the church and society resolve the moral dilemma

on the race issue. They are not the die-hard bigots we often hear about. Instead, this large middle group finds enough social support by simply going along with the system — any system. But the immorality of a segregated society produces the guilty Achilles heel even in the overtly content group. Negroes have proved their good faith. On the individual and institutional action of America's white Christians, then, rests the fate of intergroup amity and the ultimate possibility of the redeemed community.

A NORTHERN EXPRESSION of "Passive Insistence"

The Rev. Edgar R. Sather, one of our editors and the chaplain at Skidmore College, here describes his impressions of an extension of the sit-in type of nonviolent technique in a conservative up-state New York city.



HAVING lived through one battle and having rejoiced at the advance of the troops, now one feels at the mercy of the commander to issue the signal for the start of the second campaign.

But in this state of suspension, before the promised resurgence of activity in the fight for social justice for the Negro, the Spring sit-ins seem somehow remote and a bit unreal here in a small, Northerly New York city (population: 15,000 of whom 600 are Negroes).

The effects of the sit-ins in this horse-racing capital were percussive back in March and April, but today it would be difficult to find any evidence that the surface calm in Saratoga or at Skidmore was in the least way ruffled by that sudden surge of emotion.

On March 21 about 200 students (from a student body of 1200) and 17 faculty members marched in demonstration of sympathetic support for those who were insisting on their rights at lunch-counters. Typical reactions of Saratogians were:

" . . . Why pick on the local Woolworth store which has exemplary policies and serves everyone?"

"The girls are simply publicity-hungry and delight in the television cameras grinding away and the flash bulbs going off."

There were also cries of protest from quite another source than solid, white businessmen. Several thoughtful adult Negroes feared that the Skidmore girls were "stirring up a hornet's nest." Negro boys and girls would be set back in their relationships with white students in the local schools. This protest served as a reminder to all of us that when "one member of the body suffers, all suffer together."

Although the sit-ins cast a blinding light on odious white-supremacy customs of the South, the light was found to beam as revealingly at

Saratoga where we have fostered the comfortable but myopic notion that we are "nicely integrated" and "afford equal opportunity to all."

We found out differently.

That initial March 21st student demonstration later turned into the type of "poster walk" about which Mr. Bushnell speaks. Then several local Negroes, with a few Skidmore faculty members, three ministers and one businessman sat down to ponder ways in which their empathetic concern might be actively expressed. While usurped rights of the Negroes in the South were bemoaned, there were those at the meeting who were reminded of poor service, if any at all, at some local restaurants, embarrassment at being told by real estate agents, ". . . I'm sorry, but I just didn't realize when I talked with you on the phone that . . ." and excuses that circumvented the facts when employment was sought at certain stores and factories.

Many at this meeting questioned why we should become so openly involved. Thomas A. Beckett's dilemma as expressed in Eliot's **Murder in the Cathedral** was appropriate to us all: ". . . to do the right thing for the wrong reason." But seemingly as troublesome was the prospect of doing the wrong thing for the right reason.

Nonetheless a unanimous agreement to have a poster march was reached and for four consecutive Saturdays Negroes, faculty members and students took shifts on the sidewalk in front of Woolworth's passing out information attempting to explain reasons for the march.

No local businessmen joined us.

Now, a long hot summer has intervened. And what appear to be the results of seemingly strenuous efforts?

The fact that so many students and faculty members found themselves standing up and being counted came as more of a shock to themselves than to anyone else. Many of the great mass of "the uncommitted" knew a worthy cause when they saw it and in spite of a predilection for neutrality and conservatism, they were willing to risk censure.

The local NAACP chapter is beginning to see beyond a passive role of merely helping to fill the coffers of the national organization. It has become obvious that if the *status quo* of the Negro here in town is to be challenged effectively, the cooperation of the two races, sitting down together and planning in the NAACP meetings, is necessary.

The potential power of the State Commission Against Discrimination and other New York State legislation has been rediscovered.

There is a large group both of Saratogians and Skidmore students who wait expectantly for the Fall campaign, and once having come forth with their prayers, moral support and money, they can pro-

bably be counted upon to do so again. The mutuality of the concern in town and college was encouraging.

Now that there is at least a hint that the current college generation cannot quite as blithely be labelled "apathetic" — that favorite designation of chapel speakers in the past five years — it appears possible that those who have indentified themselves with their colored brethren may be willing to crusade for other unpopular causes as well.

Who knows? Some student support may even grow for the admission of China by the United Nations.

A CRITICAL ESTIMATE of "Passive Insistence"

•

The Dean of the Chapel at Howard University, The Rev. Evans E. Crawford, has prepared this incisive response to Paul Bushnell's discussion. Dr. Crawford, who carries additional duties as instructor in Howard's School of Religion, is a graduate of Samuel Huston (now Huston — Tillotson) College, and received his S. T. B. degree from Boston University School of Theology in 1946. Boston University's Graduate School awarded him The Ph. D. degree in 1957.

•



BUSHNELL, in this Christian understanding of non-violence, performs a real service with the insights resulting from his observation as a participant. I am convinced that only participants have the authentic voice in this movement. There is a place for spectator observation, but this early in the nonviolent movement, the most important place must go to those who are a part of the witness. Bushnell properly recognizes that he may fail to reveal or portray the "inner motivation" since he is not a Negro. But the fact of being a Negro, while certainly having certain existential significance, does not provide the real test for the significance of the sit-in demonstrations. Since the way of nonviolence requires a commitment, it might well be that in this case participation is more crucial to capturing the "inner motivation" than is the accident of birth. Bushnell's confession bears this out when he says: "My own experience suggests that neither the evils of segregation nor the possibilities of faithful discipleship show up clearly unless one has engaged the problem directly." This is true for the Negro as well as the white individual. If the concern were merely "the evils of segregation," the fact, the existential fact, of being a Negro, would be of particular importance. But the need and the requirement for "faithful discipleship" adds another dimension requiring a commitment, a wholeness of dedication, which one's group or racial membership does not automatically assure. To mention this is to commend Bushnell for the careful way he recognizes or allows for his biases and to extend his comment to the importance of this movement for American society as a whole rather than merely for the Negro.

Participation provides a key to the theology with which Bushnell apparently approaches and analyzes the procedures and problems

of the sit-in movement. Although he recognizes the variety of motivations within the movement, he is particularly concerned to assess the Christian understanding of nonviolence as it developed in the sit-in movement.

It is his opinion that the sit-in movement stems from a recognition of obedience to God, an obedience where the emphasis is on discipleship rather than on a social program alone. Crucial to this obedience is a trust in the promise that God will reward obedience. An important part of this obedience is active love, a love which when illuminated by the experiments and interpretations of Gandhi reveals the possibilities for Christian love in social action. With respect to the American race problems, this love identifies past efforts as being subjected to the sin of paternalism and the limitations of litigation. Both fail to include the needed **integrity in integration** which Christian obedience requires. The sit-in movement exists to focus on this inclusion.

This analysis of the sit-in is sound as far as it goes; it needs to include a more explicit reference to the ethical notion of "responsibility." This notion allows one to include a theological grounding for the element of "power" which the sit-in brings to bear on a situation as a means to negotiation. Failure to take explicit account of it means further confusion for those who confuse nonviolence with the absence of power and coercion. There is an element of power and coercion involved. As passive insistence, however, it does not violate the life nor the conscience of the persons against whom it is employed. It is consistent with moral protest and criticism. It is not a matter of the **presence** of the element of power and coercion but whether it is responsible. To be responsible it must be obedient to God and to the dignity of one's spiritual neighbor. To be so responsible is to recognize a method which deals with sin without debasing the sinner.

To complete the developing philosophy of the sit-in movement with the concept of "responsibility" to God for neighbors who are the violent racists and the managers of the institutionalized systems of segregation is to suggest that we have here test material to be included in the developing concept of the responsible society. The young people in the movement are responsible for law and order. This may seem difficult to accept for those who do not have an understanding of and appreciation for the concept and place of civil disobedience in our way of life. But there is a noble tradition of civil disobedience which the sit-in movement is placing on the conscience of our nation. The confused reaction to this witness, as Bushnell points out, reveals that many Americans lack understanding of their own traditions. They need to note that when one is publicly willing to take the consequence of respectful disobedience

to the law, he is in a real sense showing his respect for the law. How ironical it is that the victims of so much illegal use of the state power of law and police enforcement should recall to the nation the highest traditions of its rule of law. To do this is to give ethical evidence that one is responsible in his obedience.

In addition to including an explicit concept to handle the elements of power in the sit-in movement, I think that there should be more explicit attention to strategy of the movement. Bushnell reports experiences which add up to strategy but he does not directly mention this. One wonders if this word like others which superficial interpreters of the movement use, such as boycott and picketing, troubled him. Some may think of strategy as a secular concept unable to handle the moral emphasis involved. Nevertheless, there is plenty of room for filling the word with moral content, given the commitment to nonviolence. This is possible because of the alternatives that democratic government makes available to us in this country. In many ways it is institutionalized nonviolence. It includes dimensions for respectful opposition. It builds criticisms into its structure. Those steeped in its foundations recognize this; those only superficially concerned ignore it. The result is that they fail to see that the power of the state can be used for worthwhile purposes as well as for evil ones. They often fail to make use of the state at all. With respect to the sit-ins, this means that one must think of the workshops as strategic approaches to methods of changing social attitudes.

The whole discussion by Bushnell deals with the motivations of the movement. The very stress he gives to the Christian motivations suggests that there are others as he mentions. This approach is suggestive of some of the experiences which I have had with some of the participants in the sit-ins in my institution and geographical area. Great interest has been expressed about the motivation of the participants by both Negroes and whites. In fact so much has been expressed that one begins to wonder about the motives of those who are concerned about their motives. Some are concerned to build on lesser motives to higher ones. Others are concerned to protest against the sit-ins either in idea or in person by means of inquiry into motives. Still others may be interested in analytical psychological studies. At this stage, the movement is too dynamic for a full assessment of the varying motives. Much of the interest is sincere, but one cannot help get the feeling that there are too many interested only in studying, when this should be a time for action.

I find Bushnell's discussion of the problems and dangers of the movement suggestive, particularly at the point of the tendency to look upon nonviolence simply as a technique. I agree that the need here is for religious insight into the nature of nonviolence as a way

of life. That the failure to do this may lead to violence, is evident from some of the counseling I have done in connection with the movement and the evidence of mere partial commitment to non-violence. This is a needed word at this time in the movement's history.

The most crucial need in connection with the recognition of this danger is to create a climate wherein the adult can keep contact with the youthful sit-in demonstrators. It is a fact that regardless of our assessment of their motives, they are making important strides in the march toward integration. I think we will also have to expect that they will make mistakes. When I talk to students after they have made their choices and participated in their demonstrations, I try to help them to understand that "you are entitled to your mistakes and your successes." I adopted this motto after reading of the hesitancy of the original Greensboro sit-in demonstrators, who thought they ought to seek adult advice, but then decided against it and made their initial sit-in at a Woolworth lunch-counter. I think most adults would have cautioned them against this direct approach. This has been a part of our very conditioning. About the best we can do, I think, is to commend their agreement to be nonviolent as the most important basis for self-discipline and growth that we've seen in any of their movements and activities up to this time. This agreement, even if it is not yet soundly based in Christian philosophy, is something to build upon. I think that the openness of many of these demonstrators toward the conservation and practice of non-violence by traditional organizations for religious reasons, indicates that they will at least listen. This is all we can expect. Personally, I would prefer to risk a mistake by some of the demonstrators, rather than to take the chance of imposing my own more cautious approach upon them under the guise of giving advice.

A PRELUDE TO MEDITATION
on the Problem of Race

•

By BRUCE CLEMENTS

This unusual dramatic episode was written for Chapel and College by the Rev. Bruce Clements, pastor of Friedens United Church of Christ, Schenectady, N. Y. Mr. Clements was a 1953 graduate of Columbia College, and received his B. D. degree from Union Seminary in 1956. In 1957, he engaged in special study in Medieval Religious Drama at the University of Munich. He has written plays for the Methodist Church's television productions, for the United Church of Christ and for the National Council of Churches. At present, he serves as advisor to the Christian Association at Union College. In his own words, he "likes lemon pie, Elvis Presley, and the mad social whirl."

We suggest that the episode Mr. Clements has written is definitely not a worship service in itself, and should not be used as such. It is correctly labelled "A Prelude to Meditation."

•

(The purpose of this little burlesque is to catch and shove about the minds and hearts of those who watch it in order that, when left alone at the close, each member of the congregation may puzzle out the meaning for himself. Since it is somewhat different from those travesties to which we have become accustomed, an introduction printed and distributed to the congregation is in order. The congregation should be encouraged to relax, laugh, and engage themselves with the action. They should be encouraged to stay and meditate upon it when the chapel is empty of players. A time after the act is through, when the players and congregation could come together for conversation, might be set aside with profit.)

(The burlesque should be played broadly but with control. The white student is exceedingly, and obviously, earnest. The Negro is slow, not terribly bright, but with an instinct for the ridiculous and an eye for sham. The speaker dupes people by a transparent and disconcerting consistency.)

(As the congregation enters, under the spell of an inconclusive prelude by Mendelssohn, they see near the pulpit, a white student, and by the lectern a Negro student. From time to time the white student gets up, crosses to the Negro, and points out something in the order of worship. The Negro does not respond to these helpful little encounters except to nod at appropriate times. When the music stops the white student steps into the pulpit and motions the Negro into the lectern.)

•

White: As you all know, our guest at this service is a man who has startled thousands by his courageous stand on civil rights. He has been delayed, but will arrive in time for his address to us. Let me read you part of a note I received yesterday from his secretary. "I want to thank you for your kind invitation to be

with you on Sunday evening. I have been instructed to tell you that we will gladly be there, though we may be somewhat delayed. If, under those circumstances, you wish to cancel the engagement, please feel free to do so. Let me warn you," she continues, "that there are those in every group whom the Leader outrages by the directness of his utterance. He speaks, in everything, from the very depth of his being. Only the wise and receptive can comprehend his meaning and the larger purpose of his mission. I hope that within your group such persons will be found." It is signed "Sincerely yours, Gloria Wright, Confidential Secretary." I can only add that I too hope that tonight's message will not fall upon deaf and uncomprehending ears.

I am your worship leader. Actually I'm not the leader but, like you, a follower No, a member, a fellow, a comrade (if, of course, you discount the political overtones of that word. We're not concerned with politics here) A BROTHER, yes, better A BROTHER. And how better for a brother to help his brothers than to guide them in prayer and meditation on the theme of Ultimate Integration? And what is more fitting than to include in this worship one of another race as co-leader co-brother?

(The Negro, who has been idly picking his nose, speaks.)

Negro: I am a Negro.

(The two step from their places, the Negro reluctantly, and embrace between pulpit and lectern.)

White: Let us now join together in singing . . . what?

(The Negro shrugs elaborately.)

. . . . You suggest it.

Negro: "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God."

White: Yes! A mighty fortress is our God

(The organist begins the introduction, with the Negro "Directing".)

. . . . It was written by a German, you know.

Negro: Yeah?

White: And you know how they are about the race issue.

Negro: Oh, we better pick an American one.

White: Maybe a Spiritual. Something from the heart of your people?

Negro: Great.

White: Like **Dry Bones**.

Negro: The lyrics always get me all screwed up.

White: (To the congregation) What difference does that make? So he doesn't know all the words. We'll help him, won't we? We understand, don't we? Who can sit in this place and not

extend the hand and heart and voice of fellowship and brotherhood?

(He looks appealingly at the congregation.)

. . . . We'll start off with "A Mighty Fortress

(The organist repeats the introduction.)

. . . . Our co-leader will tell us the number

(The white one hands a hymnal to the Negro, who is quite mystified about where to look. He starts leafing slowly through it.)

. . . . The index is in the back.

(A voice comes from the midst of the congregation.)

Voice: Three hundred and ninety-six.

White: Racist! You didn't trust him to find it himself, did you? Well, for your information the White Citizen's Council isn't meeting here tonight.

Negro: Three hundred and ninety-six!

White: Anybody who feels the way you do shouldn't be allowed in college.

Negro: The left-hand side of the book.

White: Why don't you leave, and anybody else who feels the same way can go with him.

Negro: Four verses.

White: Let us pray for the reform of all bigots. (To the Negro) Will you lead us?

Negro: Sure

(A flashbulb goes off in the rear, and a press photographer comes slowly down the aisle. The Negro watches him all the way.)

White: Just pray a prayer you know.

Negro: O Lord, bless Mommie and Daddy and Aunt Sue and Mr. and Mrs. Collins and Mr. and Mrs. Bell and help us all be good. Amen.

White: (Sincerely) Amen. Let us stand now and sing "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God"

(He goes toward the congregation.)

. . . . Please, let us stand The photographer wants to get a shot of us singing together. It's number 3-9-6. Please stand up, all of you, and hold your books high Our speaker will be here in just a few minutes and we want to be ready for him, don't we?

(The organist introduces "A Mighty Fortress" at slightly more than double the proper speed.)

. . . . Now!

(The white one sings the first verse bravely. The Negro acts as conductor. The photographer flashes the congregation.)

. . . . You may be seated. Our brother will now lead read the Scripture Lesson, which has been edited out of the REVISED STANDARD VERSION in order to sharpen in our minds the words of Paul.

(The Negro mounts the lecturn with great seriousness, and looks commandingly at the congregation. The photographer flashes him and he can't see a thing. Now a smartly-dressed female with clattery spike heels walks to the white student and engages him in conversation. They go out together.)

Negro: Selected portions of the second chapter of the Ephesians: "But now you who were far off have been brought near For he is our peace, who has made us both one, and has broken the wall of hostility by abolishing that he might create one new man so making peace, and might reconcile us both" Here endeth the lesson.

(The Negro goes to the altar and removes the offering plates. He comes forward, and holds them out toward the congregation.)

Negro: We will now take the collection offering, which tonight will go to advance the work. The ushers will get it

(He stands there. Nobody moves. The photographer gets set to take another picture of the Negro, who turns his face away just before the flash goes off, and leers at the photographer for having outfoxed him. Since no one comes to take the plates, he brings them back to the altar and, picking up a book of worship, prays)

. . . . O Lord, accept these our gifts of sacrifice and thanksgiving. All gifts come of thee. We give thee but thine own. Amen.

(He sits down again. The white student enters leading a blind man in a soupstained tuxedo, an overcoat over his shoulders. He carries a white cane, and is followed by the female secretary. When they have arrived forward, she removes his coat, affectionately, and sits down in the congregation.)

White: Once in every generation there arises a humble man who bears a message of truth

(The blind man gets out of the white student's grip and taps his way to the altar. He feels in the collection plates, while the white student speaks)

. . . . Such a person is our honored guest tonight. He is truly humble. He makes no claims, and he makes no compromises. His cry is clear to those with ears to hear it

(The blind man comes back and nudges the white student with one offering plate. He looks at it, and continues.)

. . . . There are those who fear this man's message, because it calls upon them to change, to give up old ways and

find a new and brighter path, the path of Ultimate Integration with other men and with God. But there are others to whom his words are, if I may say so, the very utterance of God. We appreciate more than words can say his personal sacrifice in coming to us

(The blind man pokes him harder with the offering plate. He turns to the Negro.)

White: Didn't you take up the collection?

(The Negro shrugs. The blind man takes a tired cigarette from his pocket, and begins to search for a match. The Negro comes forward, lights it for him, and hands him his matches. The blind man is infinitely grateful, and embraces him.)

. . . . We will now take up the evening offering, which will go to advance the work of this courageous man.

(He takes the plate from the blind man and holds it out. No one comes. Now the blind man's secretary comes forward, takes one of the plates, and goes among the congregation with)

Female: Come on now, get it up. That's your part of the bargain. (She works the congregation.)

Voice: Anybody got change of a dime?

White: We don't want your money. Keep it

(The blind man reaches in his pocket, and takes out two nickels. He gives them to the Negro, who goes to change the dime.)

. . . . You have read, I am sure, of the work of our guest. Wherever racial injustice lives, he moves with his message. North, South, East, West, no injustice escapes his prophetic voice.

(The blind man burps. The Negro returns, addresses the blind man)

Negro: You got a place for the night?

White: (Anxiously) Yes, have you?

Female: (From the congregation) We make our own arrangements Thanks just the same.

Negro: You got one of those dogs?

White: He has the **Spirit of God** to guide him

(The Negro shrugs at this ultimate answer, sits down. The secretary brings White the collection plate. He is about to go to the altar with it, but the blind man stops him.)

White: (Continuing in a whisper) I just want to put it there for the time being

(The blind man takes it firmly away from him, puts out his cigarette in it, and purposely upsets the change all over the floor.)

. . . . Let us join together in singing "Onward Christian Soldiers," Number 2-7-1

(The organist plays the introduction, as the blind man taps his way to the pulpit. He waits for the introduction to end. The organist stops abruptly.)

. . . . Sir, we await your message.

(The blind man stands straight for the first time, supported by the gaze of the congregation. He opens his mouth, then closes it again. Now he opens it again, and from it proceeds an agonizing jumble of vowels and consonants, totally incomprehensible, he stops, panting and meditating on his next paragraph.)

White: Be patient. He's had an exhausting day.

(Now the blind man speaks in a rush and tumble of noise, retching out the sounds. He is finished, and falls into exhausted distraction.)

White: Now I understand. He's speaking in tongues. Listen to him! Listen to him with the ears of your hearts

(Nothing more comes.)

. . . . We hear you. Speak on. What you say means something to each one of us. Just go on please

(The secretary comes forward and, at the sound of her heels, the blind man awakes and comes down from the pulpit. The secretary begins to lead him out.)

Female: Baby, you've never been so sublime, or whatever it is you are.

White: (To the Congregation) My friends, brothers, I know you'll excuse me if I go help our speaker find his way out. My our co-leader will close the service.

(The white student goes after the blind man and his secretary. The Negro gets up and begins to gather the change, singing to himself, a jumbled version of Dry Bones. When the change is gathered, he goes to the altar and prays.)

Negro: O Lord, accept these our gifts of

(He begins to laugh, and continues laughing as he speaks

. . . . O Lord, accept these our gifts of sacrifice and thanksgiving. All gifts of thee. We give thee but thine own

(The heels and cane come tapping down the aisle from the back. The photographer gets set to take a picture of them as they return. The Negro sneaks up behind him and turns the camera upon him so that he blinds himself. He leaves, staggering and blinking. The Negro laughs again, and speaks to the blind man.)

Negro: (Affectionately) You didn't need a dog. You're your own son-of-a-bitch

(He meets the blind man, who has begun to laugh.)

. . . . You're the kookiest swindler I ever met.

Female: What makes you say that? Have you been taken?

Negro: We've all been taken.

Female: How? For what?

(The blind man goes to the altar, and takes two nickels from the plate. He comes and offers one to the Negro.)

. . . . Go on, take it, as compensation, or as souvenir.

(The Negro shakes his head.)

Negro: (Indicating congregation) They've been taken, then.

Female: Their money? They can have it back.

Negro: Then why did you go to the trouble of collecting it?

Female: It was their part of the bargain. We delivered what we promised; why shouldn't they?

(The Negro takes the nickel.)

. . . . That's right, take it, and loosen up some more.

(The Negro stands in front of the blind man.)

Negro: What color do you see?

Female: He's blind.

Negro: But he knows

(The Negro addresses the Congregation.)

. . . . Brethren, there must be some point in all this.

I mean there's gotta be, don't you think? Some moral, like speak softly and carry a big something, or people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw something. We'll all think a lot about it, huh, and come to some CONCLUSION: you know, wrap it up so we can pass the quiz and forget it. Right? Right.

(The blind man starts to tap his cane rhythmically. The organist plays "Turkey in the Straw" on one finger. The Negro does a turn with the female, and one with the blind man. The three dance together until the blind man trips and falls, the Negro acting as square dance caller. When the blind man falls the music stops abruptly. They help the blind up, and start out, the female in the middle. They stop and the blind man pokes the Negro away from the girl. The Negro shrugs, smiles, and lets the blind man be in the middle.)

Negro: So, even you're not ready for Ultimate Integration?

Female: You wouldn't want to suspend the right of private property, would you?

Negro: Me? Oh, no You know it sure is great to find somebody in this world with principles

(They laugh together and nose their way to the back. Just before they leave the Negro shouts)

. . . . Alleluia, and Amen!

(The congregation is left to its devices.)

REFLECTIONS ON THE CHAPLAINCY
A Document of Historic Value

o

By SIDNEY LOVETT

This paper was originally presented as the "Association Address" at the Ninth Annual Conference of the National Association of College and University Chaplains and Directors of Religious Life, held at Vassar College, April, 1956. It is preserved here because of its lasting value as a record of campus religious development.

It originated in the lively mind of the Reverend A. Sidney Lovett, formerly Dean of the Chapel, Yale University. Dean Lovett, a graduate of the University, he later returned to serve as Chaplain, attended Union Theological Seminary, and was ordained to the Congregational Ministry in 1917. After serving churches in New York City, East Boston and Boston, he became Yale's Dean of Chapel in 1932. He was one of the "founding fathers" of NACUC. Today, Sid Lovett is Executive Vice President of the Yale in China Association, in New Haven.

•



THE Program committee does me a very signal honor by its invitation to give the first in what is hoped to be an annual succession of Association Addresses. Moreover, the committee is embarrassingly generous in suggesting no specific area or topic to be dealt with by the Association lecturer. I can only match their generosity in this respect by offering an address this evening that will be easily surpassed both as to interest and excellence, by those who will be asked to fill this particular assignment in succeeding years.

"A commonplace book contains many Notions in Garrison, whence an owner may draw out an Army into the Field." I fancy that all of us here have experienced the operation so quaintly suggested by Thomas Fuller, a 17th century English divine. Something once read and all but forgotten is recollected. You are moved to check the source and out of the page, casually marked, it may be years ago, comes a notion that takes command of your mind and rallies your random scientific or literary or religious speculations into a formidable expression of your current views, judgments or critical opinions. By the same token, an ordinary life-experience like my own, in the field of Christian faith and service, may acquire a few "Notions in Garrison," some modest impressions that, in the company of friends such as this Conference represents, can be liberated from their native source and set before you this evening in the guise of openly avowed beliefs and convictions about our common profession and our mutual task.

The general character of this paper is historical, and this is prompted by my having been associated, in one way or another, with student religious activities for the past forty-seven years. If, at some points, the account becomes personal, this is because history

doesn't go around the individual, it passes through him, as Herbert Butterfield somewhere reminds us. In this abrasive process, something of both the individual and events is rubbed off, as it were; therefore he, as a person, cannot but give evidence of his own involvement in the historical movement which he feels called upon to describe and measure. Sir Winston Churchill and his monumental readings of history are superlative examples of this thesis of Mr. Butterfield's. Invoking Sir Winston's name leads me to wish that I had a tiny fraction of his gift for setting up arresting titles or sign-posts, descriptive of the successive periods of history with respect to which he is both an observer and a participator. I shall have to resort to the calendar, in lieu of more imaginative terms of definition, and ask you to let me marshal my "notions in garrison" in three divisions, as follows. First, we shall consider some of the personalities and pronouncements characteristic of student religious thought and activity from 1910 to 1920. This decade witnessed the flowering of romantic evangelism and it was a very exciting time to be alive and active in student religious life. Yet like all institutions, or movements, it carried within it the seeds of its own dissolution into the bleak period of student religious iconoclasm and nihilism that marked the next decade and a half. Some of you were cutting your professional teeth on these tough years, and you have your own authentic experiences and observations by which to test and correct my own. Finally, we come to the period embraced by the last two decades which brings us to where we are tonight. Of these more recent years most of you are better furnished with knowledge and wisdom than I am. They represent the seed-bed of your own religious beliefs and activities as participants in the current Student Christian Movement. They are definitely the years of your lives, and my reflections upon them are of a piece with the remark of a bishop in one of G. B. Shaw's plays who freely confessed to his inquirers that he was no guidepost, but simply a "puzzled old man of whom you have asked the way." Now, with this quite arbitrary road map in your hands, let's get on with the journey; or in the memorable dictum of the late Alfred E. Smith, "Let's look at the record."

The Odyssey began, for me, in the fall of 1909, my freshman year at Yale, with the receipt of a post card from the graduate secretary of Dwight Hall, inviting me to come over and see him. Despise not the day of small things! It may be the notice you send out to some student will be as rewarding to him as Jim Howard's card was to me. One couldn't have been more happily introduced into the local religious program of one's chosen college. There followed the S. V. M. quadrennial conference in Rochester, New York, in December, 1909, and my first exposure to the slogan, "The Evangelization of the World is in this Generation." During the winter, I was one of a deputation to visit Penn State College, where a young man named Frank Buchman was Secretary of the Y. M.

C. A. and doing battle for the Lord against the twin demons of drink and vice. There was a contagious earnestness about the man at that time that I came to miss, after he became the self-anointed Apostle to the Genteel!

The year ended with the Northfield Student Conference, in those days, a ten-day affair that usually included the Fourth of July. A thousand men would come from what are now the New England and Middle Atlantic areas of the S. C. M. What is more, they stayed **put**, for there were no autos or busses to be had, and trains ran infrequently along the Valley. Here at Northfield, we were come into the presence of the great High Priests of student religious life in this country, and, to a certain extent, abroad. I refer, of course, to John R. Mott and Robert E. Speer. I say, in all respect, gentlemen, there were giants in those days; and Messrs. Mott and Speer were the greatest of them. When Dr. Mott presided over a plenary session of the Conference and Dr. Speer delivered the address, one had the feeling that the Kingdom of God was just over the nearby hills.

A little lower in the hierarchy were Sherwood Eddy and his brother, Brewer, who were modern counterparts of Boanerges, "The Sons of Thunder," famed in St. Mark's gospel. They were dedicated to foreign missions. They were Yale alumni and, as such, frequented our informal delegation meetings. We knew that they had access to Olympus. Sherwood Eddy played the role of Mercury to Messrs. Mott and Speer. But both the Eddys were essentially mortals like ourselves and we felt comfortable in their society. Then there was our beloved Henry Wright, a member of the Yale Faculty and the saintly shepherd of successive flocks of Yale students who came and went on the Old Campus. Next to the Bible itself, Henry Wright's study book on "The Will of God and Man's Life Work" was our **vade mecum**. It was from this book that Frank Buchman lifted the four absolutes, "honesty, purity, unselfishness and love," and made them the cornerstones of his later Movement. Fresh from the foreign mission field came Sam Higgenbotham and Ralph Harlow to address gatherings on Round Top. The Church proper was represented by Charles Edward Jefferson, then of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, and a young Lochinvar, out of the far West, Charles Reynolds Brown. Occasionally, a British or Scotch divine was permitted on the platform, two such being Hugh Black and Charles Sylvester Horne.

Among the young clergymen, whom we students found very exciting leaders of small groups, were Henry Sloane Coffin and Harry Emerson Fosdick. Towards the end of the decade I am speaking about, they "made the platform," but their orthodoxy was earlier questioned by Mr. Will Moody, son of the evangelist. As Messrs. Mott and Speer became more involved in the world movements of

Christianity, Mr. Moody took over the management of the Northfield Student Conferences and exercised a censorship in the selection of conference speakers that I am sure neither Mott nor Speer would have countenanced. Henry Coffin and Harry Fosdick were excommunicated from the Conference by Will Moody. This gave rise to the only successful revolt in which I ever participated when, after a meeting with Mr. Moody and his continued refusal to invite Henry and Harry to speak, the committee voted to move the Summer Conference from Northfield to Silver Bay, New York. Whether it was the loss of income or a change of heart, I know not, but within two or three years the Conference was back in Northfield and our boys, Coffin and Fosdick, in good standing.

I must curtail an old man's propensity to recount the names of those whom he remembers in his youth with abiding affection. Of such was Kenneth Latourette, who is still with us in the flesh, and David R. Porter and Clarence P. Shedd, who began their distinguished careers as messenger boys in the outer office of the House of Mott. The "social gospel" as promulgated by Walter Raushenbush and E. A. Steiner was never given much of a place on the Northfield platform in my student days. We were introduced to Roswell Bates and John Steen, two utterly charming and impeccably dressed young parsons who had turned their backs on fashionable posts in New York City and gone to the poor and underprivileged in lower New York, on Spring Street, and the Church of the Sea and Land. Somewhere Mr. Mott had picked up a lumberjack turned evangelist, in the person of Raymond Robbins, who, I believe, became a somewhat radical labor-politician in later years. Short and stocky, with a crop of unruly black hair and wearing shabby, ill-fitting clothes, but with a voice like an organ and an amazing flow of words, some of them quite pungent, Raymond Robbins was a kind of John the Baptist, prophesying dark days that we never really believed would come. Was not the world to be evangelized in our generation? Dr. Mott and those who stood closest to him gave every indication that the Kingdom of God was at hand. If there were any serious doubters among the hierarchy, they never gave us students any indication of their dubiety.

One illustration of the ease which ruled in Zion will serve to clue you in on the prevailing temper of this first period under our consideration tonight. It is July 4th, 1914, and before the huge bonfire is lighted with wood provided by the Conference management, Charles E. Jefferson addresses the packed auditorium. Some ugly rumors were circulating in the Press, that Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany is making threatening gestures against England and France, which could lead to an upset of the balance of power in Europe and possibly to war. In his speech, Dr. Jefferson takes brief cognizance of the German menace, but goes on to discount the possibility of war; and why? Because of the solidarity of the working classes

in England and France and Germany. With a vision of the workers in these three countries, linking arms together in a fraternal determination to maintain peace, we go out into the night, reassured, and frolic about the bonfire, unperturbed by current rumors of conflict. One month later, the Great War broke upon us, and since that time, for those who were in their early twenties, there has been no real peace in the world.

Henry James was wont to refer to World War I as "the Great Interruption." The phase befits a man of letters whose routine habits of reading and writing have been rudely disturbed. But the effect of the war upon the confident and optimistic religious ethos of the period we have been describing was comparable to an explosion. The human propensity to discover a scapegoat when evil suddenly befalls, to ask not "what" but "who" has brought this great woe upon us?, was quickly and completely satisfied by the Kaiser and his subjects. The earlier absolutes, honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love, were added up to produce the conclusion that a war between the children of light, the Allies, and the perfidious hordes of darkness, the Germans, was the absolute right and justifiable course of action for the Christian to follow.

Most of the well-known churchmen who had addressed us at the Northfield Conferences sounded a clear call to arms in a Holy War, a Great Crusade, from the pulpit and platform. Their efforts, in some instances, turned the churches into more effective recruiting offices than those set up by the government. The Y. M. C. A. and the Red Cross offered a more moderate and remedial form of national service; and led by John Mott and Sherwood Eddy, many of our spiritual mentors dedicated their organizational abilities to the moral and physical welfare of our soldiers and sailors.

Curiously enough, it was the firmly established confidence in religious and moral absolutes that attracted a few of us to the position of absolute religious pacifism. The summer between my freshman and sophomore years at Yale, I had met and worked several weeks with Norman Thomas, then a young and promising Presbyterian minister, fresh out of Princeton and Union. He was to become minister of the American Parish, a home missions project centered in the East Harlem area of New York City. It was my great privilege to do my field work and more with him, during my three years at Union Seminary, 1914-1917. Norman Thomas was an absolute pacifist in those days, and I imbibed my own views largely from him and a small group of men and women of similar mind. We were reinforced by the visits to this country of Leyton Richards and Richard Roberts, the latter to remain permanently, and the consequent extension of the British-born Fellowship of Reconciliation to these shores. The pacifist position was greatly strengthened by the Quakers, men like Rufus Jones and Harold Hatch, who

represented the fine flowering of a long and unremitting devotion to peace. But I'm sure "the divisions of Reuben" were very small cleavages compared to the great gulf that seemed suddenly to open up, separating many of us who had shared a common dream and vision of the Kingdom at Northfield and on the campuses of our several colleges and universities. Nothing in our religious education and nurture has prepared most of my generation for this particular rending of the veil of the Temple, a structure of spiritual hopes and aspirations which had seemed to us to be inviolable.

The seeds of dissolution which lay hidden in the authoritarian religious movement of the earlier decade, with its reliance on moral absolutes, sprouted into very lush secular growths in the 1920's. The fact that some of these quick-growing plants flourished in the morning, and in the evening were cut down and withered, infected those who observed the process with the feeling that not permanence but change was inherent in the times. For example, the fabulous material prosperity of the 1920's was proved to be not an absolute, but a relative condition by the Great Depression that engulfed the country as the 1930's began. The Noble Experiment was one of the last fruits of an absolutist morality. Its repeal, a few years later, was the result of a growing conviction that ethics is based upon relative considerations rather than upon absolute standards. These are some of the imposing evidences, in the decade and a half after World War I, of a general eclipse of the authoritarian and the absolute systems of religion and philosophy and ethics, earlier described in this paper, by what one might designate as relative humanism. Marxian socialism, corrupted by Lenin into the Communism of the Russian Revolution, introduced the element of relativism into our earlier notions about Democracy, as something fixed and absolute. John Dewey, in the field of education, and Sigmund Freud, in the hitherto unexplored areas of human behaviour, further weakened the bulwarks of the earlier edifices of the human mind and spirit that had appeared to be permanent and established. This whole process of change, sometimes the result of growth and at other times the sign of decay, is impressively set forth in Walter Lippman's book, entitled, "A Preface to Morals." In short, Man was the way of being deified and absolutized as the measure of all things. The Coronation occurred and a crown of a new design but adorned with the old jewels of Authority and Absolutism was placed upon Man's head.

This absolute rule might have been undisputed were it not for the advent of a young Detroit parish minister who broke into the Atlantic Monthly with one or two articles, reminiscent of the social and economic philosophy of G. D. H. Cole. Reinhold Niebuhr, and his long and distinguished line of disciples, were in my opinion, those who staged a kind of intellectual Runnymede. As a result of their protests, Man was stripped clean and bare of his pretensions

as an Absolute Monarch and given a more appropriate and less exalted place in the sun as a "child of heaven and a child of hell."

It is time to ask how students, by and large, were faring during this period we have been at some pains to describe. Some of you were undergraduates in the 20's and early 30's and have a better answer to the question than myself, withdrawn as I was during this decade from contact with the campus. Most of the students I met in the church I served in Boston from 1919 to 1932 were young men and women not without doubts that arose principally from the conflict of science and religion, but who were loyal to the church by force of habit and tradition. I remember meeting other students at conferences who did give evidence of a cynicism with respect to institutional religion that was unheard of in my undergraduate days. This was the time when compulsory chapel was abolished at Yale and other New England colleges. Atheist clubs were formed on some campuses. Harry Elmer Barnes and his books provided a kind of rallying point for the rebels. My conviction is that this prevalent mood of religious iconoclasm was an inevitable reaction from an earlier age of unquestioning faith. An uninformed Biblicism played a part in student religious unrest, and scientific humanism appeared to have the answers to current despairs and frustrations.

Not to tarry longer upon the second of our three divisions, let me quote from an editorial that appeared in the Yale Daily News, entitled "Godless Places," when my appointment as Chaplain was announced in March, 1932. It was written by a brilliant young man whom I later came to know and who is at present one of the most able theoretical physicists in the nation.

"Because students have refused to accept obsolete doctrines of medieval theology, some self-righteous reverends see fit to denounce colleges from their pulpits as Godless places. Others have been dismayed at the widespread disdain for prayer and for worship. Some denounce, some merely deplore this ir-religiousness. Very few realize that there is a real, deep religion in an American university, that young men who boastfully claim to have no religion are often following the most progressive minds of the era.

"A college man, really a very young man, faces the awful, mysterious world. In his thoughtful moments — there are many — this world is often terrifying. College men wonder why they are here, why they must endure the vicissitudes of monotonous life.

"To them prayer is weak mumbling, a confession that they cannot stand on their own feet. To them the ritual of the Church today seems filled with century-old fetishes. To them church history seems criminal beyond all other history because

the church was above all institutions too small to admit its mistakes, too selfish to lead. Always fighting change, fighting independent thought, fighting science, it lagged behind the great thinkers of the times. To them the moralizing doctrinaires harping on ideals of olden ages are unsympathetic. They have nothing to offer the young man reaching beyond the accomplishments of dead ages. To youth, the good the church has done is not enough to counteract the hostility it inspires for its lack of understanding and sympathy to the needs of a new age. So these college men avoid anything that savours of the church; they would rather stand alone without any consolation so they can be free to think and live according to the dictates of their reasoning.

"A new chaplain comes among us. What has he to do with religion such as this? Does he come with the consolation of Zoroastrian ritual cloaked in Christian theology? Does he come equipped with ancient superstition disguised in modern forms and methods? Does he come with the God which was good enough for men five centuries ago but not good enough today? Does he come to combat science, to deny the wonders of astronomy, of geology, of evolution? Will he attempt to hand college men the age-old narrowminded attitudes of the church regarding modern discoveries? If he comes with these things, he will have a lonely time at Yale.

"But if he comes with a belief in the mental and spiritual ventures of this age, if he makes the mystery of the new world of this twentieth century one bit less terrifying, he will be greatly welcomed. Should he make the existence of men, ridiculous parasites on a dying speck of matter, in infinite space and infinite cold, should he make man's helplessness before the blazing island universities millions of light years away any less dismaying, he will touch the heart of religion at Yale.

"Reverend Sidney Lovett, 1913, newly-appointed chaplain, comes among men most critical of the Christian church. His task is to adapt the beauties of the life of Jesus and the morals of the Old Testament to the needs of modern ambitious youth. He comes to a godless place, where enthusiasm, hope, and especially openmindedness reign supreme. May he prosper here."

Well, after reading the above, remembering the Yale I knew twenty years earlier and conscious of a new Yale with which, in the interval, I had been largely out of touch, the Reverend Sidney Lovett was sorely tempted to call up President Angell and resign his commission. I can still argue that it would have been better for Yale had I done so, but I must admit in so doing I would have missed an awful lot of friendship and joy.

Now we come, at long last, to the third area of concern, as suggested at the outset of this paper. This is the period we all know best; this is the existential present in which, as Chaplains, we are currently involved. There is little need for me to be descriptive of personalities and pronouncements that have marked the Student Christian Movement during the last decade and a half. They are as known to you as they are to me, and doubtless better understood. I think it most fruitful for me to venture a few personal observations and convictions, both with respect to the temper of the times in which our ministries are set and to our own personal deportment as servants of students with whom we are in fruitful association.

The attitude of the college man or woman towards religion is not now and never has been subject to any complete and final appraisal. Certain broad observations may be made about recent and current trends in this particular confrontation. I venture to say that the prevalent mood of students in our colleges today with respect to religion is one of intelligent curiosity. Scratch the surface of indifference, more often careless than studied, and we find students not so much convinced about the claims of religion as they are haunted by them. Here is a disposition better by far than the unintelligent and even truculent contempt for religion so common in the 1920's.

Let me give you a quotation of student opinion ten years later than the earlier transcript which I read a few moments ago. "We students are young and know it. We don't claim to be deep thinkers. But we are sincere. We are looking for guidance. Today in the midst of all the uncertainties and the muddle of thought, the main question with the thinking student is this: What am I to live for? If you can show us the thing that will answer that, rationally, we'll go to it — whether the thing be chapel or the history lecture room or the science laboratory or Billy Phelps." These words bear witness to a change of climate more favorable to religious faith and nurture.

I believe we have all witnessed this heartening condition, which set in before World War II. Many of you will account for this sea-change, and in different terms. Perhaps it is my awareness of some old scars that leads me to think that one very significant reason for it is that the Christian Church behaved so much better during World War II than World War I. The Church never involved itself and its organization and preachments with the last war as it did with the first World War. Both Church and State eschewed the optimistic slogans by which these institutions were quick to justify the earlier struggle. Though he was and still is a severe critic of the position of absolute pacifism, Reinhold Niebuhr did as much as any one else in this country to prevent a recurrence of the earlier pretensions that war is a holy and a justifiable end, compatible with Christian doctrine and ethics. His clear insistence that war is

an evil thing in the light of the New Testament, though sometimes the lesser of two evils, in view of political considerations, and his constant substitution of penitence for pride, as becoming sinful men, represents a powerful breeder of the better religious weather in which we now live and work.

At about this point in the preparation of this Association Address, a reprint of Clarence Shedd's article in the December issue of "The Christian Scholar" came to hand. Its title is "Religion in Higher Education, Retrospect and Prospect." On the whole, it is an encouraging, hopeful document, emanating from a friend and contemporary of mine who has dedicated the better part of his life to the service of the Student Christian Movement. I commend it to your careful consideration, especially in the broad area of organizational strategy for the future.

One sentence in the third section of Clarence Shedd's brochure sets the course for the concluding remarks I offer you this evening. "I have moments," says Clarence P. Shedd, "when I fear that the adversaries to this situation" (i. e., some opening doors for Christian witness) "may be of the household of faith." Every movement has often more to fear at the hands of its adherents than at the instance of its opponents. The present vogue of simple piety in high places, like that of the President and his Cabinet, with their prayer meetings and hymn singing; the religious success stories that appear in the press; the very impressive analysis of the current religious revival by Will Herberg as primarily a desire on the part of isolated individuals or groups to feel a sense of self-identification, not with God but with the American Way of Life, not for reasons of faith but under the pressure of social identification and security; these all tend to make religion respectable and utilitarian. When religion appears to be the "harmless adornment of a comfortable life," to quote a sentence of Reini's, the young will conclude that religion has become entrenched, gone on the defensive once more, and they will become deaf to its claims.

Personally, I don't sense the "militancy on the great social questions of our moment in history" that Clarence Shedd envisages in the student Y's. Perhaps in the direction of the World Church, yes; but even this vital concern hasn't become contagious enough to arouse the active interest of scores of choice, competent young men and women on our campuses. Today the young appear to me to compose a non-committed generation. They are chary about giving themselves away to any cause or enterprise whose dimensions are hard to calculate. Still and all, the young are more susceptible to religious faith and service in terms of a challenge, rather than a truce. As Clarence Shedd reminds us, in another paragraph, we must not be guilty, as religious leaders, of asking students "to settle for too little" in the matter of Christian dedication and commitment.

(Now, for your manifest relief, I must limit notions to be drawn out of garrison this evening. A more important transaction than this lecture calls us to the Chapel.)

It was Dr. Samuel Johnson who declared, "People need to be reminded, more often than they need to be instructed." I make use of this quotation this evening not in any way to belittle the element of Biblical and theological scholarship and consequent instruction that are involved in our personal and professional odysseys. In fact, with a real sense of personal regret, I confess the imbalance in my own ministry between serious intellectual effort in the study and too ready response to various calls for action in the neighborhood or market place. You, who are of the younger generation of ministers, are less likely than myself to fail under the condemnation of a remark of the late Bishop Charles Gore, of Oxford, as those "seeking refuge from the rigors of thought in opportunities for action." But let my experience be a very real warning to you at this point.

Rather, I invoke the good Doctor's dictum as a means of constantly reminding ourselves that in our ministry we are first of all disciples and then evangelists. In the carrying out of what we believe to be the terms of our commission, we must never forget ourselves or allow others to be in any kind of doubt as to Him who has commissioned us to be His witnesses. Thinking back to the first part of our paper this evening, I believe it to have been the chief glory of our elder brethren that they constantly reminded us, in terms of their own lives of dedication, of One in Whom they trusted and of Whose reality they were persuaded. And if, in recollection, I seem to have been a bit cavalier about the moral absolutes that Henry Wright taught and exemplified, I stand properly chastened by this short paragraph of Arthur Koesteler's: "I am not sure whether what the philosophers call ethical absolutes exist, but I am sure we have to act as if they existed. Ethics must be freed from its utilitarian chains. Words and deeds must again be judged on their own merits, and not as mere makeshifts to serve distant and nebulous aims. These worm-eaten ladders lead to no paradise."

Now I close with a sentence of Alfred North Whitehead's which I once thought to adduce earlier in this essay as a kind of road map of the three areas we have had under survey. You will recall the quotation from his Lowell Lectures, "Religion in the Making." "It (religion)," says Whitehead, "is the transition from God the void," or if I may paraphrase, God the taken-for-granted, "to God the enemy, and from God the enemy to God the companion."

This memorable statement, not to be taken in any compartmental way, seems to me to presage a trend, to give us a sense of direction, to be a kind of religious bench-mark, by which we may measure the contours of our present situation as minister of God in Christ Jesus.

And now you may be startled at the last witness I shall call upon this evening. In a fairly recent series of lectures at Columbia University on "The Impact of Science on Society," Bertrand Russell ended his last lecture with this declaration. "The root of the matter is a very simple old-fashioned thing, a thing so simple I am almost ashamed to mention it for fear of the derisive smile with which wise cynics will greet my words. The thing I mean — please forgive me for mentioning it — is love, Christian love, or compassion. If you feel this you have a motive for existence, a guide for action, a reason for courage, an imperative necessity for intellectual honesty."

Gentlemen, perhaps without the apologetic clauses which Lord Russell felt obliged to invoke, there's a song for us to march to, as we move forward together into the years ahead.

NACUC Officers---1960-61

President	Robert H. Beaven University of Rochester Rochester, New York
Vice President	Carleton L. Lee Central State College Wilberforce, Ohio
Association Secretary	James N. Nesmith Vanderbilt University Nashville, Tennessee
Membership Secretary	Norman B. Johnson Union College Schenectady, New York
Treasurer	John M. Currie Lafayette College Easton, Pennsylvania
Chairman of Public Relations	Daniel W. Wynn Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee, Alabama
Editor of "Chapel and College"	George P. Morgan Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute Troy, New York
Chairman of Information Service	Bradford S. Abernethy Rutgers University New Brunswick, New Jersey
Past President	Theodore S. Darrah Rollins College Winter Park, Florida
Historian	Charles C. Noble Syracuse University Syracuse, New York

Return Postage Guaranteed

Chapel and College

EDITOR, OFFICE of the RESIDENT CHAPLAIN
RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
TROY, NEW YORK

Y.

LATHAM, N.



Pacific School of Religion
1798 Scenic Ave.
Berkeley 9, Cal.